/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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128

Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

000 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baere (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

[Bororo da Campanha]

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533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently
taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted
on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms
were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face
was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men
under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of
palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoul-
ders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
● [825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which
was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
[531] was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one
could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of
many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal
completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on
the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment
of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar'
dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals
in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began
in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts
or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did
not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed
with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side.
His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his
body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the
women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not
leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagududoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

614 825 827

goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge choreuge and kujagureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridogwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items: "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridogwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowagije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ances-
827 tors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in
121 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these
613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from
827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

613 827 "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the people say that their village lies on the rocks."[1]

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825] "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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1 "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

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[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of-
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

1 "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

822 796 237 302 614 822 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
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614 choreu - kujaqureu or uruqureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
561 or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
796 For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
561 ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
825 exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruquqwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruquqwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujagureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

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But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many subclans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) belonging to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

[825]
[776]
[774]

Bakororo gave:

Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Aije kujagureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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1 "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu mode iwo maku akai. Kodire i mode maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day. Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think about themselves as being in the center of the village. The village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village. It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

The distinction between human and animal, and assexuality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions between Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an

asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says that the dogs were there, but the village itself was nameless. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.

Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most important cultural acts. Only when named do things become part of the human universe.

Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names. Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge, for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 82 775 them their names. The learning of names continues even when people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 775 237 301 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most important material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 775 825 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 775 773 616 614 613 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge, who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the villages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties, clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurúgugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

776 761 754 825 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to spy on the Bororo. These are makao, tuiwo torogo, churugu-churugu, kadoqwareu (different kinds of birds), and ruke (flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and 688 juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed, that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 761 825 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of Bope: adugo, aigo, aipobureu, aimeareu (varieties of felines), ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), okwa, riye, moribo (varieties of canines), kugu, tagogo (varieties of owls), makao (a variety of hawk), and bakure (a carnivorous monkey). The Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. a. They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and 821 by the people through their offerings. b. They are night animals and the night is Bope's time. c. Nobody ever sees these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and they do not die, except when they are killed by people for compensation (mori).

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"--one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

[825] First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the animal traits of the first beings found their strongest expression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for their father, who had a special predilection for penes, vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
[103] in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
[825] ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lineages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one Tugarege man, Tadugo. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated--separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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1 "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/126/

846 Karl von den Steinen (a.c. /sic/, p. 503) mentions, concerning this: "For two days father and mother do not eat anything, on the third day they can take only a little [753] warm water. If the father ate, he and the child would become sick." He adds: "Until the return of menstruation, the woman may not bathe."

Colbacchini (ibidem) writes, however, about the Bororo observed by him: "The mother bathes on the following day or a few hours after the delivery."

However that may be, in general one can say that, according to the customs connected with the birth, the progenitors behave in a similar way, making evident, in this respect, an equality of the sexes among the Bororo.

881 Also the initiations of the young men and women belong among the customs that often distinguish only one of the two sexes. Among the Bororo there is a feast when the young men receive the penis cases. They must spend the previous day in the forest, without any food (von den Steinen, o.c., [17] p. 504). I do not know whether the first menstruation is also celebrated among the Bororo as I was able to observe, for example, among the Tapirapé.

841 As the Bororo told me, during the menstruation of the 785 married woman, she and the husband would fast, in order to become strong. Thus they could fight the ounce, the [825] woman would also fight, upon being attacked by the feline. And thus they would also be able to run faster than the ostrich.

616 /127/ Like the Kaingang, the Bororo are also divided 171 into two exogamous "halves," the tugarege and the tcherae, which, according to Antonio Colbacchini (I Bororos Orientali, Pianta del villagio /The Eastern Bororo, Plan of the village/), means the "strong" and the "weak." Among the Kaingang, too, one of the "halves" has "more strength" than the other one; and this distinction is made even among the four social "groups" of their tribe.

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri coóa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1983
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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

[p. 42-B]

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[237]

back to the village. Its claws and teeth are pried loose and made into ornaments to be kept as mementos by the close kin of the deceased. The hunter is rewarded with a necklace made of shells and nuts, an elaborately decorated bow, and arrows. The animal is skinned and the inner surface of the pelt is decorated with black paint specially prepared by the shaman. This is presented to the relatives of the deceased in a series of rituals that involve singing and dancing.

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The night of the kill, one of the village leaders conducts a dance to the accompaniment of songs addressed to the spirit of the jaguar. With the jaguar hide on his shoulders, a chief or a shaman leads the ritual intended to appease the dead jaguar, while the people of the village dance. Men, women, and children all perform this very important ritual, which continues far into the night. At first many people

[text continues on p. 45-A]

[p. 44-B]

join in the dance, which consists of simple, rhythmical steps or hops. As the dancers become tired, they drop out of line one by one, and eventually the shaman may be left dancing alone.

IN preparation for the actual burial festivities, the Bororo ornament themselves elaborately and with meticulous care. They paint their faces and bodies with a variety of fantastic designs in different colors, and may plaster their hair with the red urucú paint. Some wear skirts, capes, and head wreaths made from palm leaves. Hair that was torn out in mourning is spun into cords that are braided and wound around the head in the fashion of a turban. Other striking decorations are chest ornaments made from the claws of the giant armadillo; bird beaks worn as pendants; necklaces of jaguar teeth; chaplets made of a beautiful local flower that resembles our morning glory; and enormous "sunburst crown" feather headdresses, which sometimes incorporate the tail feathers of as many as thirty macaws. These spectacular headdresses are highly prized by the Bororo, because macaws are now scarce in their forests. They will part with one to an outsider only in exchange for a gun.

One of the highlights of the Bororo funeral ceremony is the impersonation of mythical beasts by men dressed in various costumes and performing imitative dances. Two such creatures inspect the corpse about two weeks after its interment in the plaza. Disguised with leaves of the buriti palm, they circle the grave several times. Finally they stop and open it to check the state of the body's decomposition. Their decision is known in advance: the flesh has not yet decayed enough to be removed from the bones. The grave is closed, and the festivities continue.

ANOTHER mythical creature is represented by a man whose body is painted white with clay, and who wears feathers in his nose. This beast impersonator runs again and again around the spot where the corpse is buried, trying to call the dead person's soul out of the grave. During this performance, other men in the group shake split bamboo poles, producing a sharp clapping sound.

Still another beast impersonator emerges from behind the huts, and rushing across the plaza toward the grave, beats it with a long stick in a

[p. 45-A] [text continues on p. 45-C]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men. 226

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them. [41] [227]

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy. [103] [136] [511]

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them. [501]

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita- 151 825

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151 825 tions of the doings of animate nature, not excepting even the insects. Indeed, the imitating of animals appears to form a large part of Bororó life.

526 [824] Late, one murky afternoon, I had the pleasure of seeing them run what they call the *Mano* race. *Mano* is their name for the small, wild banana-plant used in this race. The word also means youth, or young man. Perhaps the name means, the young men's race. The race is run by two groups of men [825] each carrying a ponderous roll of the *mano* plants, and seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of the saüba ants.

Early in the day, all the men of the village went up [501] the river to a spot where the *mano* grows, and cut a ton or [824] two of the plants, which grow but three or four feet high, 616 brought the material down the river on rude floats made of bundles of bamboo or burity-palm wood, carried it to a point about seven hundred yards from the village and placed it in two piles, one for each of the two divisions of the village, the *Shcraidi* and the *Ta Nagarêda.*

Each group of contestants now seated themselves on the damp ground and prepared the *mano* by cutting off the tops, leaving a spongy stalk eighteen inches long. This done, each group transformed its stack of material into a huge roll, or wheel. To do this, two men placed themselves face to face, five feet apart, like living posts, having two long cords passed over their shoulders and looped down to the ground between them, and supported by two companions who leaned against them, back to back; then the *mano* was piled between these human posts and the cords were thrown over it and drawn tight by placing the rolls on their sides and three or four savages pulling on the end of each cord while others pommeled the green mass over the cords. When tightly bound, each wheel was again placed in an upright position ready to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village.

526 616 But primitive men must do things decently and in order as well as their more favored civilized brothers. A *Ta*

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sænger-fest.*

Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

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like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its *bakororó*, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these primitive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

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Chapter XXXV.

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THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

The souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to 775
dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and 825
mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called [262]
dourada by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

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775 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved
825 dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they
262 catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while
775 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost
825 souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir,
262 and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every
756 member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade
789 of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

775 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish,
825 for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the
756 entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been
789 deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 Corn also appears to have some connection with the
262 demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any
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756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During
[293] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurĩ palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the arõe song in which the animals are
755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jaurú. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it
756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come
784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in
825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

/492 cont./

754 784 825 [775] simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, [262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends," [824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

/502 cont./

836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] [439] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain 768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [602] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most 436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.

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775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
772 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 956 825 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understandable extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

[262]

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] [171] [761] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 772 825 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradition and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]

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772 775 825 schema "transmigration of souls." They experience "transmigration of souls" every night. That animals and human beings are merely different persons is far more important than that one assumes a closer relationship to some animal-person or other as a result of subsequent considerations. I can really understand these people most readily if I regard the assertion, which seems to be the most recent and the most confusing, namely, their saying "we are birds," as the most ancient and the simplest, and not imagine them as saying "I shall become a bird," but rather "I have a bird -- please, not in the sense of the Berliners /who would mean, "I'm a bit touched" (Translator)/ -- I am a bird who now flies about at night but some day, hopefully in the distant future, will no longer fly back to his family if some other person, a human being, a bird, or a mammal, that I have fatally injured succeeds in preventing this, and who will then be forced to retain its nocturnal form and henceforth, as a white egret, will catch fish in the lagoon and earnestly hope that child and grandchildren will not shoot and eat him, but merely, if necessary, pluck out his feathers."

821 Heavenly fleas; meteor conjuration. Sun and moon are arara feathers. I did not succeed in discovering what ideas exist about their owners. The Bororó laughed at me, however, when I asked them whether sun and moon were like human beings, and repeated "arara feathers," arara feathers and not merely arara, as though they might be birds. We live on a large island in the middle of a river called the "baruparu" -- the reduplication of "baru," "heaven." Moon and sun (or their owners) are on one side and wander across the river; when they come together, the moon passes over and the new moon comes.

The Southern Cross is the toes of a large ostrich, Centaurus is an accompanying leg, Orion is a jabuti turtle and, in the part toward Sirius, a cayman, the Pleiades are the tuft of flowers of the angico tree, Acacia; the Bororó showed me all this with great pleasure, /514/ and in doing so they often uttered an ih... of admiration, but they did not always agree about the interpretation, so that it was doubly difficult for me to discover it. About one